

PROTEUS ECCLESIASTICUS

O R,

OBSERVATIONS

On Dr. *Sh--*'s. late

Case of Allegiance, &c.

IN A

LETTER

To Mr. P. W.

Merchant in L O N D O N.

L O N D O N:

Printed for *Jos. Hindmarsh*, at the Golden Ball, over-
against the Royal Exchange in Cornhill. 1691.

Merchant in LONDON

LONDON:

Printed for J. H. H. in the Old Bailey, and
against the Royal Exchange in London.

To his highly Esteemed FRIEND,

Mr. P. W. MERCHANT
IN
L O N D O N.

Dear Sir,

A Few days since I received your Letter, which appeared as surprising to me, as perhaps Dr. Sh--'s late Reasons for his late Compliance did to the World; that you no sooner received my Rejoinder, I think I need make no Excuse, since you well enough know my Circumstances, and therefore will not interpret my silence, either to Neglect, or believe me wanting in the Respect I owe you: Neither had you, Sir, receiv'd an Answer so speedy as now it is, had not a welcome Holiday arriv'd, which at once gave me a Relaxation from the hurrying Fatigue of Business, and an Opportunity to shew you (by my readiness to comply with your Commands) how far you can Influence me, and how great a Sense I have of your frequent and accustomed Favors.

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The first part of your Letter tells me, I am imagin'd and thought to be the Author of an Answer to Dr. *Sh--ck*, under the Name of a *London-Apprentice*. What induc'd my Friends to think so, I know not; I believe no other Reason, but because I am one, which the Author of that Pamphlet, as I am credibly informed, whatever Name he put to it, was far enough from being. I have nothing more to say in relation to that, but to assure you I am so far from being the Author of that Paper, that I never indeed yet read it; but am told by them that have, that it is chiefly made up with Personal Reflections, as if the *Doctor* has been persuaded to this Compliance by his Wife's continual Solicitations. For my part, had the matter been really true, I should industriously have avoided Reproaches of that Nature; for 'tis even barbarous and inhumane to insult and triumph over the Misfortunes of our fellow Creatures. Beside I know no Cause why we should believe Dr. *Sh.* should pretend to give us Reasons for his Conformity, and yet omit That which certainly had been of more weight and moment, than any he has yet been pleased to lay down.

The latter part of your Letter requires my Opinion of the *Doctor's Case of Allegiance due to Sovereign Powers*. Alas, Sir, I have no Ambition to accept the *Doctor's* Challenge to *shew my Skill*: but shall leave that Province to be managed by those who have both more leisure, and are better capacitated for such Undertakings. But tho I design no Answer to this Reverend Gentleman, yet I cannot (since a lucky Festival allows me a Dispensation from the attendance my Concerns at other times require) omit gratifying you so far as to transcribe the few Marginal Notes and Observations I made when I read the *Doctor's* Discourse; and in requital shall expect, your more mature and correct Judgment will set me right in the Mistakes

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stakes an hasty and only cursory reading caus'd me to
commit. But before I do that, I am to observe, that the
Doctor, pag. 38. seems to be mightily concern'd and so-
licitous about the Preservation and Security of Govern-
ment; for as he says, *Humane Societies must not be dis-*
solved into a Mob, or Mr. Hob's State of Nature: As for
the latter, I suppose he'll agree with me there's no great
fear of, for God be thanked ours is another guess Island
than that of *Pines*---But for his *Mob*, I know not what
to say to him, for if they should but once reflect (though
that perhaps would be some difficulty) that they have
the *Power*, and read Dr. *Sh--k's* Book, that where that
is there is the Authority of God, and all that I am afraid
that would quickly remove all disputes of *jure divino*,
K. de facto, and *de jure*, and the rest of that Trade.
Who the *Doctor* means by his *Mob*, I cannot readily ima-
gine, perhaps all that are not in an immediate Office,
either in Church or State, or all who have not the Ad-
vowson of a good Living, or all who cannot go to the
purchase of a broad-brim Hat, with a Rose Hatband, who
have not a Grave, Supercilious, Philosophick Phys--- or
those perhaps whose leisure or Education would not suf-
fer them to read the pretty Distinctions of the *Master*
of the Sentences, and *Tom of Aquin*, or the more *Edifying*
Metaphysicks of *Suazer*, who know not the Controversie
between the *Nominalists* and *Realists*, or those it's likely
who cannot prevail with themselves to believe the *Gno-*
sticks did all those paw things *St. Augustin*, *Epiphanius*,
and the (reputed) *Arrian Eusebius* are pleased to relate
of them; whether he esteems these *Mob* or no, I cannot
determine, or whether those who are not able to tell
us the advantage we receiv'd from the *Reformation*, as
to matter of *Salvation*, or whether those who have not
examined the agreeable Harmony between our blessed
Reform-

Reformers, *Calvin, Luther, Melanchthon, Zuinglius, Oecolampadius, Musculus, Osiander, Beza*, and the Moderate Mr. *Knox*. But after all, I fancy the *Doctor* will be inclin'd to except some who are not so well vers'd in these Affairs, and it may be will esteem only the *Prentices* and *such* — his *Mob*. But if he does, I can tell him in their Name, that the Principles he has laid are no ways discouraging, but rather incense and prompt them on to exceed the bounds the Government has set them.

When I had perus'd so far in the *Doctor's* Book as to collect what he drove at, I reflected upon what I had sometime read of the brave ancient *Grecians* (especially the *Lacedemonians*) what great Care they took in the Education of their *Youth*, by imbuing 'em with early Notions of Good and Evil, deterring 'em from the Compliance with the latter, as much as they exhorted, and encouraged them to the pursuance of the former. Such a Book as the *Doctor's* had been esteemed *Libellus famosus* indeed, but in the Sense I'm afraid the Civil Law puts upon it. Had he told 'em that they were not obliged to an *Obstinate Allegiance* to their Rightful Prince, or a rigorous Observation of the Laws of their Country; but if a prosperous Usurper came and possessed the Throne, they might safely swear Allegiance to him, because their Almighty *Jove*, (*who is the natural Lord of the World because he made it*) had disposed of the Sovereignty to him: (*Minutius Felix*, that eloquent Apologist for Christianity, testifies, the Heathens had the same Opinion of the Omnipotency of *Jupiter*, as we have of the true God.) This, I say, had been hopeful Doctrine to debauch their Youth, and make 'em break out into those Exorbitancies their juvenile Years make 'em too prone to. But I forbear any longer Proem to so small a Letter as I design you;

you; and therefore shall now let you know what I observ'd in the Doctor's Preface.

The learned Doctor in the first place assures us, That tho he refused to take the Oaths, yet he *never engaged in any Faction against it*. I am here to suppose, that the Reason why he did not comply, was, lest he should be perjurd if he did; and by a necessary Consequence from this, he must suppose that they who *then* took the Oaths were perjurd; for 'tis not sufficient to say that they did not believe it Perjury to do it, and that they did it with a clear Conscience; this is not enough to say; for at this rate we quite overthrow the very Notions of Good and Evil in the Abstract, when it is to depend upon the whimsical and fantastick Opinion of humorfom Persons.

*Cum fas atque nefas exiguo sine libidinum
Discernunt avidi* —

But if the Dr. esteemed it Perjury, I wonder he should boast he *never engaged in any Faction against the taking these Oaths*: As to his business of a *Faction* I know not what to say; but had I been a *Divine*, and had thought the *New Oaths irreconcilable with my former Obligation*, I should have *believed it my Duty both to God and his Church, as well as Charity to my Brethren*, to have endeavour'd all that in me lay to have made 'em sensible of the great danger they expos'd their precious Souls to, by such a sinful Compliance. But the cautelous Doctor, it seems, would not *engage in a Faction* against their taking that the Oaths, nay so far from that, that he *even wish'd he could have done as they did*. Now am I a Rogue, if I can for my Life reconcile this to the Doctor's Reputation; for if he means (as to be sure he'll say) that he wished it had not been a Sin to comply; it argues, he had rather God Almighty had made those things only Sins which he,

lie, forsooth, did not approve of, and not those Crimes; which he had an Inclination for. I should be so far from believing it a Virtue, that I should think it no little Fault in my self, to wish Whoring had not been a Sin, because otherwise perhaps it might be agreeable enough to my Constitution, and my now blooming Age might incite and prompt me to such kind of Extravagancies. He tells us he *Prayed* (before) for *King William and Queen Mary*, but, as he wrote to an Honorable Gentleman of my Acquaintance, he did not take that to be a *Recognition* of their *Right and Title*; for, as he told the Gentleman in the same Letter, he took care to Pray for nothing that was *injurious* to the *Rightful Prince*. I forbear to transcribe any more of that Letter, because it will fill up too much of my own, but promise you a sight of it whenever you please to command it. The Gentleman from whose Hands I receiv'd it, need, I'm sure, make no Excuse for his communicating it to me, since he finds that now wanting in the Doctor which ought to be the Basis of all Friendship, and was then the Cause of his.

'Tis extremely wonderful and amazing to me, that the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, in a Point of so great Moment and Consequence, should be no where found for so many Years last past; but in the Works of *Mr. Jenkins, Goodwin, Ascham*, and the rest of that Tribe. It may be there are more Manuscript Canons still at *Lambeth*; if there be, the Doctor would do well to use his Interest with *Dr. Sharp* for the publishing them; for the Laity have great reason to be offended, and take Scandal at this dealing of the Clergy with them, to keep 'em ignorant of the Doctrine of the Church of *England* for fourscore Years together. But after all, I can by no means conceive that *Bishop Overal's* Book will admit

admit such an Interpretation as the Doctor puts upon it; for when he says a *thorough Settlement*, 'tis presum'd, in all probability, that the meaning of the Convocation Gentlemen was, That when there was no longer a Pretension or *legal Claim* made, or when the *Law of Nations* interprets a *Resignation*; as when the States of *Holland* made their Defection from *Philip II. of Spain*. The sending them Ambassadors, and acknowledging them Free States, did acquit them from any further Obligation to that Crown.

The Doctor, near the latter end of his Preface, recants his former Opinion, how in the *xiii. of the Romans* he before supposed that the Powers there were limited to *legal Powers*; but then he did not know the Doctrine of the Church of *England* (in that Point) but is better informed since, and now says, this Powers of the Apostle must be interpreted *Thorough Settled Powers*: but I cannot imagine why he'd make the meaning of the *Apostle* so, any more than *legal*; for he says barely *Powers*. Now if we are to understand it in the verbal meaning of the Words, we are to comply with the Supreme Authority, let *Jack Straw* take upon him the exercise of it, or *Sir John Falcestaff*, or *Ket* the noble Tanner of *Norwich*. We are not to say to *Mortimer*, you have indeed got *London*, or so, — but you shall first be *thoroughly settled* before we'll swear Allegiance; for the Apostle, *Romans xiii.* supposes, when he speaks only plain *Powers*, *thoroughly settled Powers*. Now if we are to suspend our Assent and Conformity to a *Government* till a *thorough Settlement* be effected, the Doctor extreamly reflects upon his Gracious Majesty, and the Wisdom of the Nation, for obliging all when demanded to swear Allegiance under a Penalty, when it was their Duty not to comply till a *thorough Settlement* was made, which for certain was not,

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according to his Definition, till the Victory of the *Boyne*. But they, I suppose, went upon other Measures, they did not understand the Doctrine of the Church of *England*. They —

The Doctor need not have told us he did not think it worth his while to *write a Book to gratifie a meer Curiosity*; for the World is well enough convinced he had a more tempting Occasion than that to invite him to't. But nothing more encreases my Admiration than that Reason of the Doctors which *prevailed with him more than all the rest, viz. to prevent the scandalous Reproaches profane Persons laid upon Religion*, when the Hypothesis he has laid down for Government incite them to't, and the Alteration almost every Reign makes of Religion. This will certainly make People less attentive to the Pulpit, when for ought they know, it may be false, and the Parson himself within a few Years recant what he had before preached; so that it will not only be their part to learn, but as difficult a Task to forget and unlearn again what had cost them so much a Quarter to be taught. When Religion, I say, labors under all these Difficulties, that even a Doctor of the Faculty, an Eminent, Learned, and reputed Pious Man, cannot satisfie a Case of Conscience, upon which the Peace of Mankind depends, under two Years time, nay, and had not then (notwithstanding his *heartily Praying to God*,) had not Bishop *Overal's* Convocation-Book came out, out of which he learned the Doctrine of the Church of *England*; for, all his Life before he had been ignorant of it; and if he was, we are to suppose the whole Body of the Clergy were so too, except a few who were admitted to see it in Manuscript. Alas! 'tis a good way to keep Religion as a Stock against a rainy Day, and then let it come out with an *Imprimatur*. Dr. *Sb*—
had

had infallibly *forfeited his Ministry* if this had not been taken out of bank. A little time hence it may be the Doctor will find out another Doctrine of the Church of *England*, and set it forth with *Scripture and Reason*, and tell the World, *that he never was more sincere in his whole Life*; and that it's no wonder that Discoveries are made of this nature; for he is not *ashamed to own himself still a Learner*. But I've that respect for the Doctor, as to wish he may learn to recant this pernicious Principle; a Principle, which if other Clergymen held, it would be a great Encouragement to the Laity to neglect no Opportunity to blacken 'em as *Men of no Faith nor Religion themselves, but make a great noise about it to serve their own Interests*.

The Doctor is very loth the Credit of Religion should be supported only by some few Men who have not taken the Oaths; and yet, tho he knows *many* of these few Men to be very great and excellent Persons, yet certainly the weight of a Church and Religion must be *onus impar humeris* to them, and therefore has found out a *surer bottom* to sustain this mighty Burthen, even his own dear self. For I have not so ill an Opinion yet of our Clergy, as to suppose any of 'em of his new Principles of the Church of *England*; and therefore he must be its only Prop and Support.

At length the Doctor has thought it necessary to *convince all sober Christians that they may swear Allegiance to King William and Queen Mary without Perjury*. That, to be sure, may easily be prov'd; but the Doctor has so good a knack at proving of things, that when his hand was in, he could, if he had a mind to't, have prov'd, that they of *Naples* might have *swore Allegiance to Massiannello* the Fisherman; for while he had the Power, (and that he had some days) he had God's Authority; and 'twas a base business to rob a Man of God's Authority; for that

being from Heaven, was of more value than any earthly Commodity. But if he had God's Authority before, the Vice-Roy of *Naples* had God's Authority to plunder him of it: and 'tis no matter how absurd and incongruous these things be; for 'tis but saying they are *Difficulties of Providence*; as the Doctor does *pag. 32.* and there's an End. At the last part of his Preface I admire he should lay so extreamly open, and forget himself so much, when he takes occasion to deny his former Notion of *Power*, and that he's now of Opinion, *Saint Paul* never thought of *Legal Powers* there; tho afterwards his then Notion was true enough as to the Case he had then in his Eye, *viz.* the Usurpation with which, *pag. 46.* he says People might have complied if his *Principles be true.* Now if a thing be both true and false at the same time, we are to learn of the Doctor new *Logick* as well as new *Divinity.*

Pag. 1. The Doctor begins his Book with saying 'tis *unfit to dispute the Right of Princes, and that which no Government can permit to be a Question among their Subjects.* The Doctor had before been acquainted with the Mildness of the Government, and I suppose that emboldened him to indulge himself so great a Privilege in disputing the Right of *K. W.* and *Q. M.* and condemning all who were concern'd in the bringing of them to Vindicate and Redeem us from *Popery, Slavery,* and *Arbitrary Power,* &c. This will encourage illnatur'd Persons to dispute their Right likewise, and expect the same Lenity and Usage.

Pag. 2. The Doctor finds Fault with the *Law* of the *Land* as a *dark Labyrinth out of which Men can hardly find their way again.* And therefore we are not to square and order the Measures of our Obedience by that, but according to *Providence,* which the Doctor understands much

much better, and so 'tis no matter for this same *dark Labyrinth Law*; we have at length found out a better thing to trust to, and will now quote *Providence in Westminster-Hall*, and say Possession gives right, because Providence is always on the winning side, and takes part with the Possessor. But after all the *Doctor* allows some difficulties in Providence too, which he can't solve, but betwixt both we shall do well enough, for when we are in a *Labyrinth* in Law, and can hardly get out, we'll even take Providence for our Guide, and when we are puzzled with the difficulties of that, we'll follow Law; so the duce is in it if we can't make a shift to rub on when we have two such strings to our Bow, as Law and Providence.

The *Doctor* spends many pages to prove all *Power from God*, which Labor he might well enough have superceeded, for none will deny all Power to be from him. But the question is whether God Almighty does not suffer natural Causes to keep their Current, and act according to their particular Qualities, and not so extraordinarily intervene in the erecting of Governors, as to strangle second Causes, and invalide humane acts.

At this rate, *Richard III.* had God's Authority, and his Person and Office as sacred and inviolable as his Nephew *Edward V.* whom he barbarously murdered, and if we cannot say God is a more active and efficacious Cause in the one than in the other, we are to be very cautious how we impute to God that which is Man's, as to Man that which is Gods.

I must confess my self startled at what the *Doctor* says pag. 26. That though Providence sets up Kings, and removes Kings, yet it *alters* no Legal Rights, nor forbids those who are dispossessed to recover their Right when they can.

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Pag. 3.

It may be, the *Doctor* consulted his inward Principle of Self-Preservation, and not knowing, but Providence might bring in the L. K. for the Punishment of our Sins. He could tell him safely enough, he did K. W. little good; and therefore he need not be very angry with him, for he allowed him to contend for his Legal Right, and that he never disputed.

But I wonder the *Doctor* should allow this (except for the Reason above mentioned) for all Humane Claim ought to give way to the Authority of God. For if God placed the Usurper in the Throne of the Lawful King, he that endeavors the Expulsion of this same Usurper does perfectly *Θεομαχῶν*, fight against God: For Gods Providence has a Superior Right to all Humane Rights, pag. 27. For that has no Title against God if he please to Advance another Prince.

Besides he gives to both a right to War for the same thing, For if he that has only a Legal Right may fight for the Sovereignty, he certainly that has God's Authority may strive to disable this same Legal Gentleman from giving him Disturbance or Molestation in the Throne, God Almighty was so kind to bestow upon him, though he had no Right to it. In vain Honest *Hugo* might talk of *Jus Belli ac pacis*, our Reverend *Doctor* could have told him that Two Persons might have a Right to fight for the same thing, one that had a Legal Right, might fight against God Almighty's King for his Dominion, and God Almighty's King might fight against the Legal, to keep the Kingdom from him.

The next pag. the *Doctor* says the Duty of Subjects as such is to Obey their Prince, &c. To which I reply, That when we take an Oath of Fealty and Allegiance to defend, maintain, his Person, Crown, and Dignity, &c. We do not say if you are a good King, and be rul'd and do as we would have you; we'll Obey you or so; but

but the question is, if we are not obliged to one that *notoriously violates our Rights*; I do not see what benefit 'tis for a Prince to oblige his Subjects to Swear Fealty and Allegiance to him, if it is to continue only upon his good Behaviour, of which they are the Judges. For my part, I cannot with a safe Conscience aver as the Doctor does, that it is *enough in Conscience patiently to bear a bad Prince*, but should esteem it my Duty, and the Obligation of my Oath to defend (as far as I am able) and protect, though a bad one. But the wary Doctor doubts the Case may be altered, and is not so sure he should. Alas! he has more regard to his inward Principle again. Though pag. 36. he says, That God having given them a Sovereign Authority, they are immediately his Ministers, and unaccountable to their Subjects: And pag. 43. he says, Subjects must Reverence God's Authority in the Prince in Possession, and submit to him without Resistance, though they are ill used.

A little farther, the Doctor says, when People have a good King, 'tis both their Duty and Interest to defend him; where he uses insinuating words, beside Duty adding Interest, as if it were not every Christians Interest to do his Duty, but I suppose he meant worldly Interest, and that he thought would Influence other People, as perhaps it had himself, and therefore used it to captivate and allure them the more readily to embrace and comply with his Notion, which he says, *if not true, yet Subjects have great reason to wish so*. For my part, I am as far from wishing his Notion to be true, as I would be to wish the Destruction of Mankind,

I wonder much the Learned Doctor should assert that our Obedience is to be limited by the *Law of the Land*, when his God's Authority King, according to a true Inference from his Argument, ought to be Obeyed in all things, which

which are not immediately contrary, and repugnant to the Will of God, how so ever contrary they are to the Constitutions and Law of the Land, unless he makes the Laws of the Land superior to the King, and if so, we come again to an Humane Authority, and leave God Almighty's Authority in the Lurch.

The very next page, He says, *'tis very reasonable to venture Lives and Fortunes to preserve the King's Person, and Government, while he is in Possession.* He should have told us what King he meant, whether a good King only or a bad one too, for pag. 27. He says, if he be a *bad one*, (People won't venture Lives and Fortunes for him) but *most will say in their Hearts, Let him go if he cannot defend himself, and to Obey a Prince, and fight for him, are two things.*

He says, when we Swear to *defend or maintain our Prince*, 'tis to *join with our fellow Subjects in the defence of his Person and Crown, &c.* and therefore supposes, that when the greater part of the Nation absolve themselves from these Oaths, and depose their King, &c. the Obligation ceases with the lesser part to endeavor the Restoration of their Prince. But I think it much more reasonable to suppose the Intent of this Oath was that we use those Methods as serve most, and improve the Interest of our Prince, for whose advantage we Swear, and our Oath is not to *join our fellow Subjects*, (as the Doctor imagines) but we are to direct our Actions, so as they may most advance our Prince's Safety and Interest, and be expedient, to the end we are to aim at, *viz.* a just discharge of our Duty: For if we are to follow the Majority, I fear the Doctor would hardly have lent Assistance to Charles II. at Worcester, but stood to see what God Almighty's Providence would do in the matter.

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The *Doctor* pretends to make a Distinction between Pag. 34.
 the Doctrine of Non-resistance and Passive Obedience,
 and the Doctrine of Obedience and Submission to Go-
 verning Powers; I wish he had explained himself a little
 more clearly, for I believe few People will be able to
 discern the difference; neither I believe will his distin-
 ction between Thieves and Robbers, and Usurpers, sa-
 tisfie any Considering Man, for I see no reason why we
 should suppose God gives his Authority to one more
 than the other, for if *Power be a sign of his Authority*,
 the *Robber* has that, as well as the *other*, and the dif-
 ference betwixt them can only be, that one is perhaps a
 greater *Thief* than the *other*. As to what the *Doctor*
 says of *Athaliah* and *Joash*, I cannot see how the Sub-
 jects of *Athaliah* could dispose and murder her justly, Pag. 35.
 notwithstanding the peculiar designation of the Sons of
David, for she was thoroughly settled sure, in six years
 time, and God's Authority ought to be Obey'd; For
 though the Succession was appointed, there was no new
 Revelation to depose and destroy her.

It would make one smile to consider the *Doctor's* Hy- Pag. 39.
 pothesis, and yet hear him commend Loyalty for a very
great Virtue, when, if his *Principles be true*, it can be no
 more a *Virtue*, than Folly or Stupidity; Loyalty, alas!
 is a dangerous business, and frequently contradicts that
inward Principle of Self-Preservation: That obliges to re-
 seat a lawful Ejected Prince on his Throne, to venture
 Lives and Fortunes, in the Service of our rightful Sovereign,
 and therefore we'll even for once leave it out of the Ca-
 talogue of *Virtues*; and let a dispossessed Prince reseat him-
 self if he can, or persuade Providence to do it for him.
 Many honorable Gentlemen, and the Reverend Dr. *Hewit*,
 &c. were very unfortunate, that they did not understand
 the Case of Allegiance due to Sovereign Powers, and not for
 their

their *obstinate Allegiance*, and the simple *Virtue, Loyalty*, lose their *Lives and Fortunes*.

Pag. 44. They, God knows, little dreamt they might have complied with the unjust Supreme Powers, and that it was their Duty to swear *Allegiance to them for the Preservation of civil Society*, pag. 41. Had Dr. Sh... lived then, he could have told them, that there was no *true Principle could oblige honest Men at any time to hazard their Lives, Estates, &c. in Opposition to a Government*: Nay, I don't question but the Doctor would soon comply, if Providence should bring it about, and the L. K. by the Power of *France*, or by some other way as Providence should order it, should oblige K. W. to retire to consult his Safety, and set himself in the Throne, he would tell us, we need not venture the Restoration of our rightful Prince, (which no body dare deny K. W. is, since the Abdication of the L. K. and all that); and that, no *true Principle obliged Honest Men to hazard their Lives, Estates, &c. since they might so easily save them by conforming and swearing Allegiance to any Government that (happens, I should not say but that) God sets up*.

Pag. 47. The Doctor enumerating the Grievances of the late Usurpation (with which he says People *might have complied*, and if they might it was infallibly their Duty) tells us, That *Bishops, Deans, and Prebendaries, were turned out, and all the Clergy that had Livings of any great value*; I hope they were not turned out for following the Doctrine of the Church of England for their Submission and Obedience to the then Governing Powers, No, no, they were turned out for being disaffected, &c. For not Obeying the Doctrine of the Church of England, for it certainly either was not the Doctrine of the Church of England, or they were turn'd out for being Apostates to it.

Pag. 50. The Doctor is talking of the Power of the Convention to dispose of the L. K's. Crown; why he may as well pre-

pretend to find a Man to take up Mr. *Dymmock's* Gauntlet at a Coronation, as to think any one dare question the Authority of that Convention to transfer the Crown to our gracious K. *W.*

He comes to his *de facto* and *de jure* business, but if a King *de facto* be to be Obeyed, it is hard to call those Gentlemen, that were in Arms in *Ireland*, Rebels, and make them forfeit their Estates as such, especially if the Act of 11 *H.* 7. be of any force and validity. Pag. 54.

The rest of his Book is a sort of an Answer to a late Discourse of Allegiance; the Learned Author has a fair Challenge from the *Doctor*, and as he sees fit may make a reply. I have here Sir, sent you the few Observations I made upon the Margin of my Book, and I will take my leave of him, with a Verse out of a better *Casuist* in this matter than he; the Heathen *Ovid*,

*Careat Successibus opto
Quisquis ab eventu facta notanda putat.*

I have only to Apologize to you, that you receive not these Remarks better digested, and reduced into as exact a Method as I could wish they were in, but my other Affairs would not dispense me leisure sufficient for a thing of that nature; you know well enough I have somewhat else to do than trouble my Head with Pamphlets; but this Discourse of Dr. *St...*'s making so great a Noise invited me to spend a leisure hour or two upon it: To tell you in a Word my Thoughts, I never met with any thing more directly contrary to the Doctrine of the Church of *England* in my life as this Notion of the *Doctor's*; the worst Notion of *Baxter*, *Owen*, and the Dissenting Crew. You may see in Dr. *Nelson's* Collections the Canons of *Forty*; and I have by me a *Gazette* No. 1845. July 26. 1683. containing the Decree of the University

of *Oxon.* in Convocation, and drawn up by the Learned Dr. *Jane*, where amongst other pernicious Doctrines, they Condemn this of the *Doctors*; *Proposition the Tenth and Seventh*, and declare it to be false, seditious, and impious, infamous to Christian Religion, and destructive to all Government in Church and State. 'Tis very hard these Gentlemen of *Oxford* should not only be ignorant of this Doctrine of the Church of *England*, but even condemn the Books which contain'd this Doctrine to be publicly burnt, and forbid all the Students upon pain of Expulsion to Read them; I know not how many of their Students have Read Dr. *Sh...*'s Book, or whether that University have been satisfied since with the Doctrine they formerly condemn'd. They'd do well to let the World know their Minds, it would, I am sure, vindicate Religion and the Estimation due to that University. I have, at the end of this Letter, exactly transcrib'd their Decree from the *Gazette* because 'tis now somewhat difficult to obtain. I think it now high time to take my leave of you, I'll only tell you that I permit you to communicate this Epistle to any of my Friends, and submit it to your Judgment.

I am,

Dear Sir, Your very

Affectionate Friend and

Obliged Humble Servant,

W. P.

St. Paul's Church-
Yard. Nov. 17.
1690.

P O S T S C R I P T.

I Presume before now, even the *Doctor's*-Admirers are convinc'd of the Absurdity of his Reasons, and I'll lay my Life on't, he will have recourse for his last Shift to the old *Baxterian* Cant, and gravely Appeal from the injurious and uncharitable Censures of a mistaken World to the Last Judgment; and therefore if at any time (it may be this six Months) you have a Curiosity to hear such Doomsday-Arguments, (as will equally serve to justify any Cause or Principle whatever) you'll hardly, I believe, be disappointed, if you can get room in *St. Botolph's Billings-Gate*, or *St. Dunstan's in Fleet-street*.

The

THE
JUDGMENT and DECREE
OF THE
University of OXFORD,

Past in their CONVOCATION,

July 21. 1683.

*Against certain pernicious Books, and dam-
nable Doctrines, destructive to the Sacred
Persons of Princes, their State and Go-
vernment, and of all Human Society.*

ALtho the barbarous Assassination lately enter-
prised against the Person of His Sacred Majesty,
and His Royal Brother, engage all our Thoughts
to reflect with utmost detestation and abhorrence on that
Execrable Villany, hateful to God and Man; and pay
our due Acknowledgments to the divine Providence,
which by extraordinary Methods brought it to pass,
that the Breath of our Nostrils, the Anointed of the
Lord, is not taken in the Pit which was prepared for
Him, and that under his Shadow we continue to live
and enjoy the Blessings of his Government; yet notwith-
standing we find it to be a necessary Duty at this time
to

to search into, and lay open, those impious Doctrines, which having of late been studiously disseminated, gave Rise and Growth to these Nefarious Attempts, and pass upon them our solemn publick Censure and Decree of Condemnation.

Therefore to the Honor of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, the Preservation of Catholick Truth in the Church, and that the King's Majesty may be secured both from the Attempts of open bloody Enemies, and Machinations of Treacherous Hereticks and Schismatics; We the Vice-Chancellor, Doctors, Proctors, and Masters Regent and Not Regent, met in Conyocation, in the accustomed Manner, Time, and Place, on *Saturday* the One and Twentieth day of *July*, in the Year One thousand six hundred eighty three, concerning certain Propositions contained in divers Books and Writings, published in the English and also the Latin Tongue, repugnant to the Holy Scriptures, Decrees of Councils, Writings of the Fathers, the Faith and Profession of the Primitive Church; and also destructive of the Kingly Government, the Safety of his Majesty's Person, the publick Peace, the Laws of Nature, and Bonds of Humane Society; by our unanimous Assent and Consent, have decreed and determined in Manner and Form following.

The First PROPOSITION.

ALL Civil Authority is derived Originally from the People.

The Second

There is a mutual Contract, tacit or expresse, between a Prince and his Subjects; and that if he perform not his Duty, they are discharged from theirs.

The

The Third.

That if lawful Governours become Tyrants, or govern otherwise than by the Laws of God and Man they ought to do, they forfeit the Right they had unto their Government: *Lex Rex. Buchanan de jure Regni. Vindicia contra Tyrannos. Bellarmine de Conciliis, de Pontifice. Milton, Goodwin, Baxter, H. C.*

The Fourth.

The Sovereignty of England is in the Three Estates, viz. King, Lords, and Commons. The King has but a co-ordinate Power, and may be over-ruled by the other Two. *Lex Rex. Hanton of a limited and mixed Monarchy. Baxter. H. C. Polit. Catech.*

The Fifth.

Birth-right and Proximity of Blood give no Title to Rule or Government; and it is lawful to precinde the next Heir from his Right and Succession to the Crown. *Lex Rex. Hant's Postscript. Dolman, History of Succession. Julian the Apostate, Mene Tekel.*

The Sixth.

It is lawful for Subjects, without the Consent, and against the Command of the supreme Magistrate, to enter into Leagues Covenants, and Associations, for defence of themselves and their Religion. *Solemn League and Covenant. Late Associations.*

The

(35)
The Seventh.

Self-preservation is the fundamental Law of Nature, and supercedes the Obligation of all others, whensoever they stand in Competition with it. *Hobbs de Cive, Leviathan.*

The Eighth.

The Doctrine of the Gospel concerning patient suffering of Injuries, is not inconsistent with violent resisting of the Higher Powers in case of Persecution for Religion. *Lex Rex. Julian Apostate. Apolog. Relat.*

The Ninth.

There lies no Obligation upon Christians to Passive Obedience, when the Prince commands any thing against the Laws of our Country; and the Primitive Christians chose rather to die than resist, because Christianity was not settled by the Laws of the Empire. *Julian Apostate.*

The Tenth.

Possession and Strength give a Right to Govern; and Success in a Cause or Enterprise, proclaims it to be lawful and just; To justify it, is to comply with the Will of God, because it is to follow the Conduct of his Providence. *Hobbs. Owen's Sermon before the Regicides January 31. 1648. Baxter. Jenkins's Petition, Oct. 1651.*

The Eleventh.

In the State of Nature, there is no difference between Good and Evil, Right and Wrong: the state of Nature is

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a state

a state of War, in which every Man hath a Right to all things.

The Twelfth.

The Foundation of Civil Authority is this natural Right, which is not given, but left to the Supreme Magistrate upon Mens entring into Societies; and not only a foreign Invader, but a domestick Rebel, puts himself again into a state of Nature, to be proceeded against, not as a Subject, but an Enemy, and consequently acquires, by his Rebellion, the same Right over the Life of his Prince, as the Prince for the most heinous Crimes has over the Life of his own Subjects.

The Thirteenth.

Every Man, after his entring into a Society, retains a Right of defending himself against Force, and cannot transfer that Right to the Commonwealth, when he consents to that Union whereby a Commonwealth is made; and in case a great many Men together have already resisted the Commonwealth, for which every one of them expecteth Death, they have liberty then to joyn together to assist and defend one another. Their bearing of Arms subsequent to the first breach of their Duty, though it be to maintain what they have done, is no new unjust Act; and if it be only to defend their Persons, is not unjust at all.

The Fourteenth.

An Oath superadds no Obligation to Pact, and a Pact obliges no farther than it is credited; and consequently, if a Prince gives any Indication that he does not believe the

the Promises of Fealty and Allegiance made by any of his Subjects, they are thereby freed from their Subjection, and notwithstanding their Pacts and Oaths, may lawfully rebel against, and destroy their Sovereign. *Hobbs de Cive Leviathana*.

The Fifteenth.

If a People that by Oath and Duty are obliged to a Sovereign, shall sinfully dispossess him, and contrary to their Covenants, chuse and covenant with another, they may be obliged by their later Covenants, notwithstanding their former. *Baxter. H. C.*

The Sixteenth.

All Oaths are unlawful, and contrary to the Word of God. *Quakers.*

The Seventeenth.

An Oath obligeth not in the sense of the Imposer, but the Takers. *Sheriffs Case.*

The Eighteenth.

Dominion is founded in Grace.

The Nineteenth.

The Power of this World are Usurpations upon the Prerogative of Jesus Christ; and it is the Duty of Gods People to destroy them, in order to the setting Christ upon his Throne. *Fifth-Monarchy-men.*

The Twentieth.

The Presbyterian Government is the Scepter of Christ's Kingdom, to which Kings, as well as others, are bound to submit; and the King's Supremacy in Ecclesiastical Affairs, asserted by the Church of England, is injurious to Christ, the sole King and Head of his Church. *Alta-ze Damascenum. Apolog. Relat. Hist. Indulg. Cartwright. Travers.*

The Twenty First.

It is not lawful for Superiors to impose any thing in the Worship of God that is not antecedently necessary.

The Twenty Second.

The duty of not offending a weak Brother, is inconsistent with all Humane Authority of making Laws concerning indifferent things. *Protestant Reconciler.*

The Twenty Third.

Wicked Kings and Tyrants ought to be put to death; and if the Judges and Inferior Magistrates will not do their Office, the power of the Sword devolves to the People; if the major part of the People refuse to exercise this Power, then the Ministers may Excommunicate such a King; after which it is lawful for any of the Subjects to kill him, as the People did Ahab, and Jehu Jezabel. *Buchanan. Knox. Goodman. Gilby. Jesuits.*

The

The Twenty Fourth.

After the Sealing of the Scripture-Canon, the People of God in all Ages are to expect new Revelations for a Rule of their Actions (*a*); and it is lawful for a private Man, having an inward Motion from God, to kill a Tyrant (*b*). (*a*) Quakers and other Enthusiasts. (*b*) Goodman.

The Twenty Fifth.

The Example of *Phineas* is to us instead of a Command; for what God hath commanded or approved in one Age, must needs oblige in all. Goodman. Knox. Naphtali.

The Twenty Sixth.

King *Charles* the First was lawfully put to death, and his Murderers were the blessed Instruments of God's Glory in their Generation. Milton. Goodwin. Owen.

The Twenty Seventh.

King *Charles* the First made War upon his Parliament, and in such a Case the King may not only be resisted, but he ceaseth to be King. Baxter.

We Decree, Judge, and Declare all and every of these Propositions to be false, seditious, and impious, and most of them to be also heretical and blasphemous, infamous to Christian Religion, and destructive of all Government in Church and State.

We farther Decree, That the Books which contain the aforesaid Propositions and impious Doctrines are fitted

ted to deprave good Manners, corrupt the minds of unwary Men, stir up Seditions and Tumults, overthrow States and Kingdoms, and lead to Rebellion, Murther of Princes, and Atheism it self: and therefore we interdict all Members of the University from the reading of the said Books, under the Penalties in the Statutes express. We also order the before-recited Books to be publicly burnt by the hand of our Marshal, in the Court of our Schools.

Likewise we order, that in perpetual memory hereof, these our Decrees shall be enter'd into the Registry of our Convocation; and that Copies of them being communicated to several Colleges and Halls within this University, they be there publicly affixt in the Libraries, Refectories, or other fit Places where they may be seen and read of all.

Lastly, We command and strictly injoyn all and singular the Readers, Tutors, Catechists, and others to whom the Care and Trust of Institution of Youth is committed, that they diligently instruct and ground their Scholars in that most necessary Doctrine, which in a manner is the Badge and Character of the Church of *England*, *Of submitting to every Ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the King as Supreme, or unto Governors as unto them that are sent by him, for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise of them that do well.* Teaching this Submission and Obedience is to be clear, absolute, and without Exception of any State or order of Men. Also that they, according to the Apostles Precept, exhort, *That first of all Supplications, Prayers, Intercessions, and giving of Thanks be made for all Men, for the KING, and those that are in Authority, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable Life in all Godliness and Honesty, for this is good and acceptable in the sight of GOD*

our

our Saviour. And in especial manner that they press and oblige them humbly to offer their most ardent and daily Prayers at the Throne of Grace, for the Preservation of our Sovereign Lord King *CHARLES*, from the attempts of open Violence and secret Machinations of perfidious Traytors; that the Defender of the Faith, being safe under the defence of the Most High, may continue His Reign on Earth, till He exchange it for that of a late and happy Immortality.

F I. N I S.

And in the year 1172, the king of England, Henry II, was crowned at Westminster. He was the first of the Plantagenet dynasty, and his reign was marked by many important events. He was a great warrior and a statesman, and he was the first to introduce the Norman system of government into England. He was also a great patron of the arts and sciences, and he was the first to introduce the Norman system of law into England. He was the first to introduce the Norman system of government into England, and he was the first to introduce the Norman system of law into England.

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